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through two generations, has been settled at The Hague. The Passamaquoddy Bay dispute has been arbitrated, and the seal fisheries disputes between our country, Great Britain, Japan, and Russia have at last been settled without a hint of arms. Three tantalizing cases have been satisfactorily settled with Venezuela. A boundary dispute between our country and Mexico has been referred to a commission. A treaty of arbitration covering ancient pecuniary claims between the United States and Great Britain has been ratified. The Taft administration has been indefatigable in promoting the International Court of Prize and the International Court of Arbitral Justice, the former a supreme court of war and the latter a supreme court of peace, both of which are all but established.

In addition, there are the well-known arbitration treaties, one with Great Britain and the other with France, signed August 3, 1911. President Taft proposed these treaties in the fall of 1910 as an example to all nations. They were drawn with the coöperation of Ambassadors Bryce and Jusserand. The President pleaded for them in thirty different States. They were enthusiastically endorsed abroad. They represented the high-water mark of the statecraft of a generation. They were emasculated and passed by a quibbling United States Senate. They will yet be passed in substantially their original form, for of such is the kingdom of heaven. From the standpoint of international relations, President William Howard Taft seems to us to be a progressive of the progressives.

### End of the War in Tripoli.

The war between Italy and Turkey is over. Everybody is glad of it. It ought never to have been. No other war of modern times has been so universally condemned by the public conscience as unjust and entirely without reason. It has been openly and justly denounced as an act of pure national brigandage. Italy has lowered herself by it before the whole civilized world. That she has measurably succeeded and wrested from Turkey sovereignty over the region fought for does not in the least change the moral character of her conquest. There is no right of conquest, never has been, and never will be. Conquest belongs to the realm of senseless brute force. It follows the law of might, not of right, and ought to disappear forever from the relations of nations.

The evils of the war have been many. It has had, as every war has, its share of cruelty and savagery on the battlefield. It has pressed the air itself into the service of inhumanity and promiscuous slaughter. It has taken the lives of many men in cold blood. It has cost the Italian government not less than two hundred

million dollars, which must be paid by the toil and suffering of the people, already nearly crushed with taxes and in parts of the country half starving. It has laid up new hatreds and enmities for the future. It has been altogether a melancholy spectacle in the midst of our boasted Christian civilization, and the only good thing about it is its end. In that let us all rejoice, and let us "highly resolve" that, so far as our little influence can effect anything, no such phenomenon shall ever again be witnessed in the relations of races and states.

The treaty of peace was signed by the Italian and Turkish commissioners at Ouchy, Switzerland, on the 18th of October. Whether the terms of agreement are such as will insure peace between the two peoples for the future, time only can determine. Sovereignty over Tripoli and Cyrenaica is ceded by Turkey to Italy. In return Italy is to pay to Turkey an annual indemnity equivalent to the tribute which goes into the Turkish treasury from Tripoli. The Turkish troops and garrisons are to be withdrawn from Tripoli. Italy agrees to evacuate the islands which she has taken in the Ægean Sea on condition that the Porte grants civil and religious liberty to its Christian inhabitants. The Sultan is to retain his spiritual headship over the Mohammedan inhabitants of Libya.

### The Balkan War.

It ought not to surprise any one that war has at last broken out between the Balkan states and Turkey. The real wonder is that the conflict did not come many years ago. The most ardent advocate of peace does not expect that war can be avoided where injustice and tyranny in their worst forms are practiced systematically and continued over long periods of time.

But the appeal to the sword is always an uncertain one. It is impossible to say at the present moment whether the course which the Balkan states have taken will leave their condition better or worse. History tells a very pathetic story in matters of this kind. In a contest of brute force it is always the stronger, all things considered, who wins. The Turkish army has always been a terrible fighting machine, and it is difficult to conceive of its being finally defeated and driven from the field by the forces which the small allied states can bring against it.

But even if they should win, it is an infinite pity that war should have been the instrument. All accounts indicate that the fighting is swift and terrible, and that the losses are unusually heavy. Large numbers of the strongest and physically best men of the Balkan states will be slain, and even if they should come out victorious, these peoples will begin their struggle after-

wards to reorganize their life and institutions weakened and crippled to a degree which it is difficult to estimate.

The powers of Europe have played a very poor hand in this crisis. One or two of them seem to have sincerely desired to preserve the peace, but the record of their joint performances in the past in the Near East has been such that nobody has had any confidence in their disposition or their ability to do anything timely or effective for real peace. Certainly the Balkan states themselves have had every reason to distrust and ignore the so-called great powers. When the causes of the war are sought out and set in order it will probably be found true that these first-class (?) powers have been almost as guilty as Turkey herself in bringing on the conflict. The less they have to do, therefore, in the final adjustment following the war, the better it will probably be for that much afflicted corner of the earth.

Let us all hope that the hostilities, which have begun with almost unheard of swiftness and deadliness, may as speedily end, and that a future of liberty and self-government and real peace may be assured to those long-suffering peoples.

### **The Interparliamentary Conference at Geneva.**

The Seventeenth Conference of the Interparliamentary Union, held at Geneva, September 18 to 20, suffered from the lateness of the season and other causes quite as much as the Peace Congress. The enrollment reached only 160, whereas in former conferences the attendance sometimes has been three or four times that number. There were only four representatives from the United States group, namely, Senator T. E. Burton, Congressmen Richard Bartholdt, Frank Plumley, and William D. B. Ainey, as against fifteen or twenty in other years. The absence of the Italian representatives, because of the war in Tripoli, also contributed seriously to the reduction of numbers, for Italy has heretofore had one of the largest delegations in the conference.

In other respects, however, the conference was unusually strong and successful. Prominent among the delegates were Mr. Beernaert, the distinguished Belgian statesman; Baron d'Estournelles de Constant, from France; Mr. Louis Franck, Senators La Fontaine and Houzeau de Lehaie, from Belgium; Lord Wear-dale, president of the British group; Dr. Zorn, Dr. Quidde, and Mr. Eickhoff, from Germany; Mr. Tydeman, from The Netherlands; Mr. Kowaleski, from Russia; Frederik Bajer, from Denmark, and Senator Burton and Congressman Bartholdt, from the United States. It was particularly noteworthy that the men present were very largely those who are doing the real work of the Union in the different countries.

The discussions were very able and interesting and dealt directly with the phases of the movement for which the Union has most stood—arbitration treaties, the court of arbitral justice, limitation of armaments, etc. An effort was made to widen the scope of the

labors of the Union, and it is probable that hereafter international relations in the widest sense will be considered the proper field of its work.

The conference was opened by Mr. Beernaert, president of the Union. He nominated, as acting president, Dr. Albert Gobat, a member of the Swiss National Council. Dr. Gobat, who has been an active member of the Union from the first, and long its executive secretary, opened the exercises with a brief speech in which he called to mind noted members who had passed away; to the part taken by the Swiss statesmen in the work of the Union, and to the limited progress in the realization of their ideals which had been made with the military governments. "Indeed," he said, "we have arrived at the epoch at which murder is committed from the heights of the air." He urged increased energy and devotion in the work of the Union.

Mr. Henri Fazy, president of the Swiss State Council, an aged and highly honored statesman, extended the welcome of Geneva and of the entire country to the delegates.

Two questions were taken up the first day. The first was whether the Union should be composed only of members of national parliaments or should continue to admit also members of certain states in empires, like some of the German states. The debate on this subject was participated in by a number of prominent delegates, some of whom urged the widest extension possible of the privilege of membership; others a restriction to the members of national parliaments strictly speaking. The subject was finally disposed of the next day by the adoption of a proposition made by the council of the Union that only subordinate states having foreign departments, as some of the German states have, should have representatives in the Union.

The second question considered was that of international arbitration. This was introduced by Dr. Zorn, the eminent Bonn professor, who had been chairman of the German delegation at the First Hague Conference. He admitted that much progress had been made since the time of the First Hague Conference in the domain of arbitral jurisdiction. He believed that it was possible to arrive at a world treaty of arbitration. Reference to national honor and vital interests, he claimed, might be dropped from treaties, as the safeguarding of these was inherent in the very notion of national sovereignty. Discussing the relations of international tribunals of obligatory arbitration to national judicial systems, he held (1) that the nations should be legally bound to submit regularly to arbitral jurisdiction all disputes in the realm of international law not adjustable by diplomacy; (2) that consenting to be legally bound by treaty, they would finally find themselves under the necessity of modifying their international juridical systems so as to harmonize with the international juridical legislation, and (3) that the international tribunal of arbitration should also be a legislative organ determining in an authentic way the sense and scope of the arbitration treaty. He paid a warm tribute to the Hague Court so far as regards matters of public international law, but he urged the members of the Interparliamentary Union to secure the preliminary study of the question of instituting an international juridical court for questions of private international law, now become so important through the prodigious development of traffic and